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Youth Development Project of the Community Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County, Inc., Minneapolis, Minn.

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One of three studies of student mobility in selected Minneapolis Public Schools, this study focuses on the patterns of movement within Target (high deliquency) Areas. All children completing 6th grade in June 1962 in six Target elementary schools and all children completing 6th grade in five comparison schools comprise the sample for which numbers and locations of school registrations were calculated. Students in Target Areas tended to move within Target Areas, and nearly nine of every 10 school registrations by Target children were made within the Poverty Area of the city, while 95% of registrations by wealthier comparison children were outside the Poverty Area. Economic segregation appeared stronger than racial segregation since 75% of the "poor" sample was white. Movement by poor children showed no evidence of upward economic mobility, while movement by above average income children showed substantial economic improvement. (BP)

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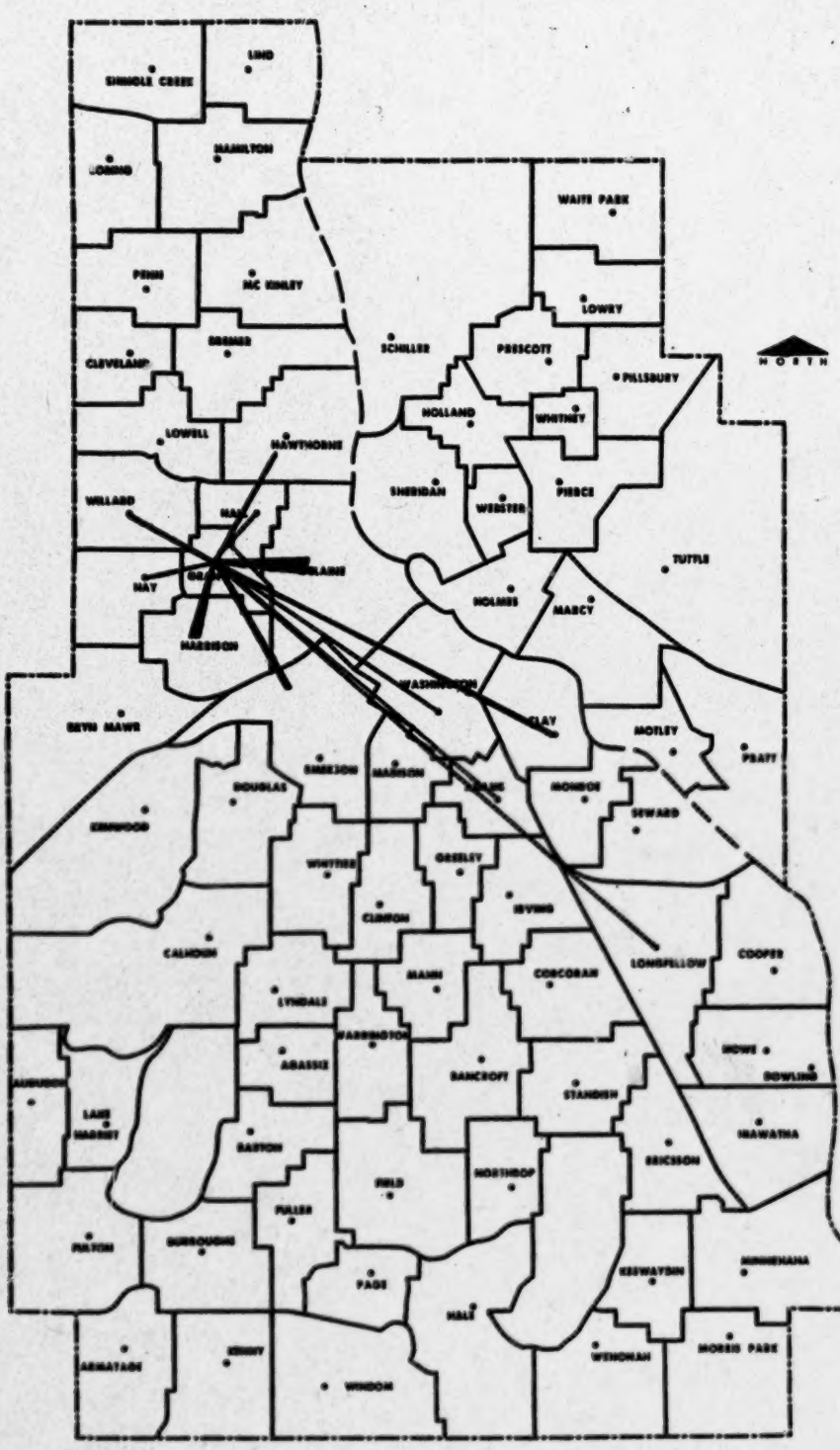
Student Mobility in Selected Minneapolis Public Schools



REPORT NO. 3

A YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

RESEARCH REPORT

OCTOBER 1966

CG 003 382

Community HEALTH AND WELFARE *Council*

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STUDENT MOBILITY

IN

SELECTED MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC SCHOOLS

REPORT NO. 3

Patterns of Student Mobility

Youth Development Project of the Community Health
and Welfare Council of Hennepin County, Inc.

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Minneapolis, Minnesota
October 1966

Student Mobility in Selected Minneapolis Public Schools
Report No. 3: Patterns of Student Mobility

A Youth Development Project Research Report

SUMMARY

Three studies of student mobility in selected Minneapolis Public Schools attempted to answer three basic questions.

Question #1: Do children from schools in the high delinquency (Target) areas of Minneapolis change schools more frequently than children from schools in low delinquency (Comparison) areas of the city?

Answer #1: Yes, definitely. About twice as often.

Question #2: What are some of the educational and social factors associated with high and low student mobility?

Answer #2: Many factors - nearly all of those studied - were found to be associated with mobility. They included family size, broken families, teachers' ratings, absenteeism, intelligence and reading test scores, delinquency, and race. The nature of these associations was studied in a limited way by comparing high and low mobility students within homogeneous economic groups. When this was done many of the differences in the high income group disappeared although differences that did exist favored the low mobility students. Substantial differences within the low economic group remained. In all cases the low mobility students were favored.

Question #3: What are the patterns of movement of students living in the Target Areas?

Answer #3: Students in the Target Areas tended to move within the Target Areas although moves back to their previous neighborhood (school district) were relatively rare. Almost nine out of ten school registrations made by Target children were made within the officially designated Poverty Area of the City of Minneapolis. Ninety-five percent of all Minneapolis registrations made by the wealthier Comparison children were made outside the Poverty Area. De facto economic segregation appeared stronger than even racial segregation since 75% of the "poor" sample was white. Movement by children living in poor families showed no evidence of upward economic mobility. Family income apparently stayed the same or dropped. Movement by children in families of above average income suggested substantial economic improvement. Results support the contention that the poor have not shared in the economic gains of our nation.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
	List of Tables	i
	List of Maps	ii
I.	BACKGROUND	1
II.	THE SAMPLE	2
	The School Sample	2
	The Student Sample	5
III.	PURPOSE	7
IV.	DEFINITIONS	7
V.	RESULTS	9
	Patterns of Movement - Target and Comparison Samples	9
	Moves to Adjacent Schools	10
	Patterns of Movement - North and South Target Samples	15
	Patterns of Movement - Individual Target Schools	21
	Patterns of Movement and Family Income	27
	Patterns of Movement Related to Poverty Areas of Minneapolis	29
	Summary	30
VI.	RECAPITULATION	32
	REFERENCES	36

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE NO.		PAGE
1.	School Registrations of 373 Target and 425 Comparison Students for Kindergarten through Sixth Grade	12
2.	Elementary School Registrations of 373 Target and 425 Comparison Students Excluding Final Registrations at the School of Sixth Grade Completion (K - 6)	13
3.	Registrations of 373 Target and 425 Comparison Children at Schools Adjacent to the School of Sixth Grade Completion (K - 6 Grade)	14
4.	School Registrations of North Target (N=200) and South Target (N=173) Children for K - 6 Grade	17
5.	School Registrations of North Target (N=200) and South Target (N=173) Children in Various Areas of the City of Minneapolis Excluding Registrations at School of Sixth Grade Completion (K - 6 Grades)	18
6.	School Registrations of 200 North Target and 173 South Target School Children Showing Number of Registrations Involving Sixth Grade Completion or Adjacent Schools and Excluding Final Registrations When They Were "Only" Registrations at the Sixth Grade Completion School - by School	23
7.	School Registrations of 425 Comparison School Children Showing Number of Registrations Involving Sixth Grade Completion or Adjacent Schools and Excluding Final Registrations When They Were "Only" Registrations at the Sixth Grade Completion School - by School	24
8.	Median Family Income in Sixth Grade School Districts and in School Districts Attended Immediately Prior to Moving to the Sixth Grade School District	28

LIST OF MAPS

MAP		PAGE
A.	Youth Development Project Target and Buffer Areas	4
B.	Number of School Registrations of South Target Area Children (excluding 173 final registrations at the sixth grade completion school)	19
C.	Number of School Registrations of North Target Area Children (excluding 200 final registrations at the sixth grade completion school)	20
D.	Registrations Made by Children Completing Sixth Grade in Three North Target Area Schools	25
E.	Registrations Made by Children Completing Sixth Grade in Three South Target Area Schools	26
F.	School Registrations of Target Area Youth Related to Poverty Areas of Minneapolis	31

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Large savings in time and money were made possible by the use of electronic data processing machines. Cards were punched by the North Central Home Office of the Prudential Insurance Company as a contribution to the Youth Development Project.

Staff members of the Minneapolis City Planning Department provided assistance in the preparation of maps.

PATTERNS OF STUDENT MOBILITY

This report is the third of three reports on student mobility among elementary school children in selected Minneapolis Public Schools. The study was conducted by the Youth Development Project of the Community Health and Welfare Council of Hennepin County in cooperation with the Minneapolis Public School System.

I. BACKGROUND

The Youth Development Project (YDP) was a three year delinquency prevention planning and demonstration project (1962-1965). It operated under local funds and a grant made to the Community Health and Welfare Council by the Office of Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Development, Welfare Administration, U. S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. A major goal of the YDP was to develop a comprehensive network of programs and services for children within two disadvantaged "target" areas of Minneapolis. This network of programs was to bridge the gap from childhood to productive adulthood. By doing so it was believed that delinquent behavior could be reduced. Unfortunately, only a limited one year demonstration was carried out due to insufficient funding.

The series of studies on student mobility was stimulated by two major considerations. First, the YDP needed information on the amount and direction of movement of children living in the two Target Areas. This information was necessary in order to develop adequate programs. Programs developed for a highly mobile population might differ from those developed for a stable population. Similarly, community-wide programs might vary according to whether the children moved within the community or moved to other communities.

Second, movement patterns of children from the individual schools were of vital interest to administrators of these schools. Some principals reported children re-entering their schools on three or more occasions within a short time period. Children who had attended many schools might differ in significant ways and

require different educational methods from children who had spent their entire elementary school careers in the same school.

The long range goal of the study of student mobility was to find the answers to three questions:

1. Do children from schools in the high delinquency (Target) areas of Minneapolis change schools more frequently than children from schools in low delinquency (Comparison) areas of the city?

2. What are some of the educational and social factors associated with high and low student mobility?

3. What are the patterns of movement of students living in the Target Areas?

Information relating to the first question was presented in Report No. 1 (Faunce, Bevis & Murton, 1965). It was shown quite conclusively that mobility of children from high delinquency, low income areas of Minneapolis was much greater than mobility of children from low delinquency areas.

The second question was discussed in Report No. 2 (Murton & Faunce, 1966). Inner city children who had moved frequently were found to differ greatly on certain educational and social factors when compared with inner city children who had not moved frequently.

The present report devotes itself to the third question: "What are the patterns of movement of students living in the Target Areas?"

II. THE SAMPLE

The School Sample

Seventeen of the 76 elementary schools in the Minneapolis Public School System

were selected for the study.*

Six of these schools were located in the two Youth Development Project Target Areas. Target Areas were located just north and south of the city center (See Map A). These areas were selected because they evidenced a wide range of social problems.

Within the Target Areas, about one-third of all residential buildings were rated as dilapidated or deteriorated. Less than one-tenth of the city's population lived in the Target Areas, but more than one-fifth of all families receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) support and one-third of all families on public relief lived there. One out of four families had annual incomes of $3,000 or less (compared with 14% of all families in the city). Median family income was $5,037 (city median $6,401). Unemployment and school dropout rates were approximately twice the city average. The average educational level (grades completed) had decreased since 1950 -- while the city level had risen. Forty-four percent of Target Area adults had an eighth grade education or less compared to thirty-four percent of all Minneapolis adults (Community Health and Welfare Council, 1964).

Six schools were located in YDP Buffer Areas. Buffer Areas were located adjacent to the Target Areas (Map A). Although the YDP did not plan programs for Buffer Areas, these areas were studied in the event freeway construction or other circumstances necessitated a change in Target Area boundaries. The extent of social pathology in Buffer Areas was similar to that in the Target Areas. Almost one out of four families had annual incomes of $3,000 or less. More than one-fifth of the families in the city receiving AFDC lived there.

Five schools were selected from various sections of the city for comparative purposes. They were designated "Comparison Schools." The sole criterion for selecting them was a low delinquency rate in the area encompassing each of these schools. However, these areas differed from Target and Buffer Areas in many other ways. Average family income was over $7,500. Less than one family

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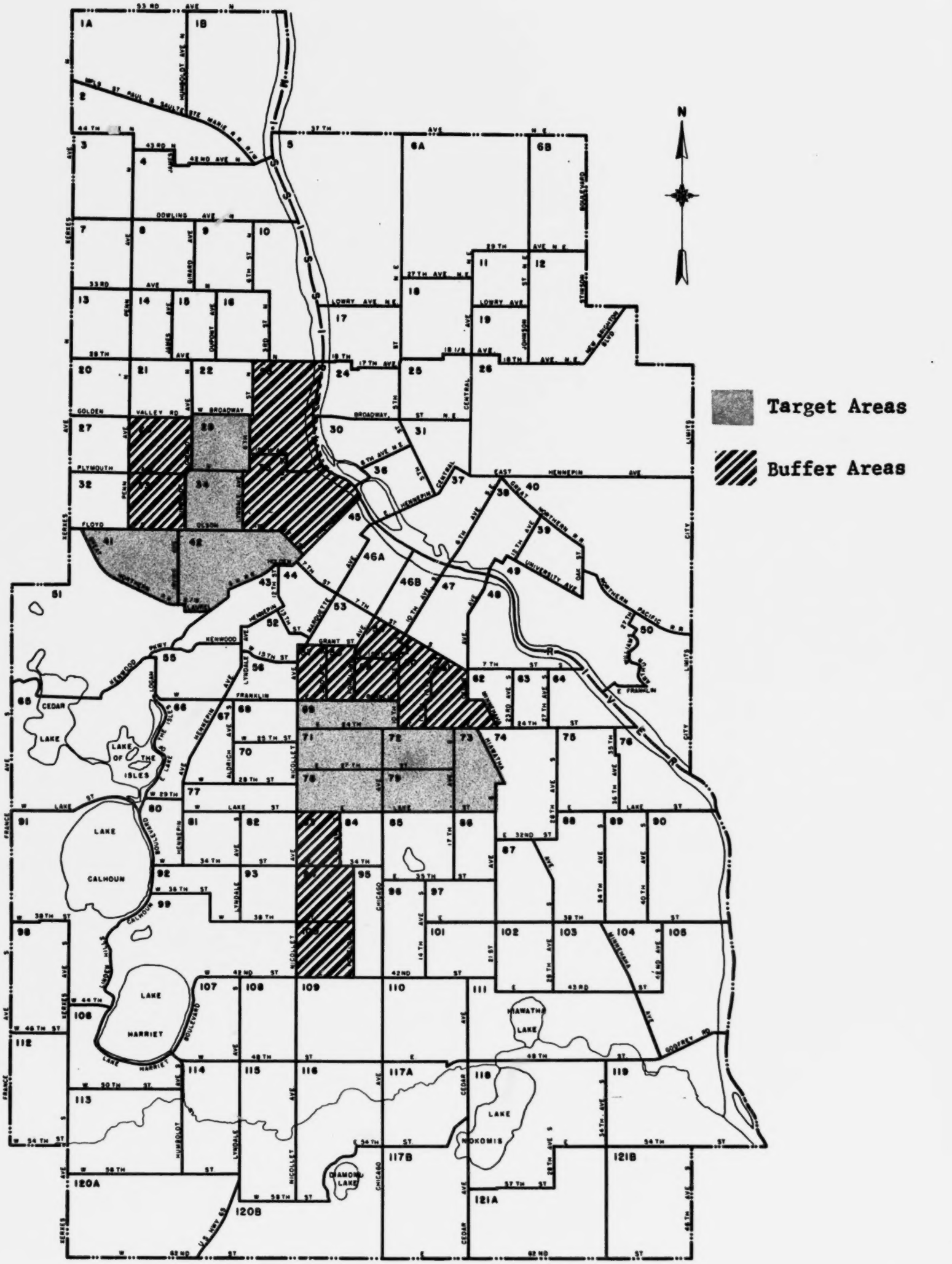
*Several schools have closed since the initiation of the study.

Map **A**



YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PROJECT TARGET AND BUFFER AREAS

in twelve had an annual income under $3,000. Within the census tracts approximating the Comparison School areas approximately one family in one hundred received AFDC compared to one family in twelve in the Target Areas.

The Student Sample

All children completing sixth grade in June 1962 in the six Target elementary schools were included in the sample (N=373). Similarly, all children completing sixth grade in the five Comparison Schools were included (N=425). Children from Buffer Schools (N=382) are not discussed in the present report (Faunce et al., 1965).

The June 1962 sixth grade class was selected during the YDP planning period in 1963 since these students would be reaching the prime delinquency ages during the demonstration or action phase of the Youth Development Project. (It was believed in 1963 that the Demonstration would last three to five years).

The YDP mobility studies yield a conservative estimate of student movement for two reasons. Records on students who left the Minneapolis school system prior to sixth grade completion were not available. In addition, information on school or address changes of students prior to their entry into the Minneapolis school system was not available.

Report No. 1 presented information on the amount of mobility among Target and Comparison youth. Fewer Target than Comparison School children were born in Minneapolis. More Comparison students entered the Minneapolis public school system at kindergarten but by third grade 90% of both groups had entered the system.

Target School pupils changed schools and home addresses almost twice as often as their counterparts in the Comparison group. The typical Target School youth attended at least three schools during his first seven years of schooling. The longest period of time he spent in any one school, consecutively, was 45 months. The average Comparison School youth attended 1.6 schools and stayed a year longer in the same school - 58 consecutive months.

Three Target school students out of every ten attended four or more different schools before reaching seventh grade. The comparable figure for children from Comparison schools was three out of one hundred. Only three out of ten Target youth attended the same school from kindergarten through sixth grade. The number was doubled for Comparison students - six out of ten.

The first report clearly documented that youngsters from low income, high delinquency areas of the City of Minneapolis in addition to suffering from the handicaps usually associated with poverty such as large families and broken homes, were beset by the added handicap of inconsistent school attendance. This inconsistent attendance was evidenced by excessive absenteeism and by frequent moves from school to school and from home to home.

A summary of the second report presented a "profile picture" of Inner City (Target and Buffer) students. The Inner City Low Mobility student, who had attended only one elementary school during his Minneapolis public school career, was of average tested intelligence (Otis) and reading ability (Iowa Test of Basic Skills). He was less inclined to be absent, delinquent, or nonwhite than the highly mobile youngster living in his neighborhood. On the other hand, the probability that the Inner City Low Mobility youth would be excessively absent was four times greater than that of the child with a stable residence in a higher income, Comparison school, neighborhood. The Inner City Low Mobility youth was three times more likely to be delinquent.

The chances that he lived in a "normal" home (i.e. with both natural or biological parents) were much better than those of the highly mobile youngster living in his neighborhood and about the same as those of the highly mobile youth living in the wealthier parts of the city. On the other hand, his chances were not nearly as good as those of the low mobility "rich kid."

In spite of his predilections to absenteeism and delinquency he was generally viewed with favor by his teacher -- perhaps because by contrast to his unfortunate, mobile neighbor he was "less delinquent," less often absent, and achieving better academically.

III. PURPOSE

Two general purposes for which the study was undertaken were mentioned in Section I. Background. The first of these was the need of the YDP for information on the movement of population so that programs could be planned for delinquency prevention and control. The second purpose stemmed from the concerns of school personnel who saw many of their students for only short weeks or months before the children moved on. They also noted that these children frequently returned to their school.

Major differences between inner city Target children and middle class Comparison children stimulated a number of questions concerning the distance and direction of movement. Did the highly mobile Target child typically remain in the same area of the community? Was there any pattern of movement? Did Target children move out of poverty areas to wealthier neighborhoods or did they move from one poor neighborhood to another? Did Comparison children ever attend Target Area schools?

These are the questions with which this report is concerned.

IV. DEFINITIONS

The number of school registrations made by each student was ascertained from school records. A "school registration" was counted each time a student enrolled in a school. A student who spent his entire elementary school career in one elementary school was assumed to have had one school registration.

Only one previous registration was counted for children entering the Minneapolis public schools after starting school in another system, as the exact number of previous moves was not available. Thus, the estimate of mobility in this study is conservative, as some students entering from other school systems probably attended several schools before moving to Minneapolis.

A number of registration categories were devised as an aid to describing move-

ment patterns of the children. These categories were based on school registrations rather than children and thus entries are not independent. Categories are not mutually exclusive. One registration may be recorded in several categories, e.g. E and F.

Category A. Final -sixth grade completion school - Includes the only school registration made by students who had never changed schools, plus the final elementary school registration for students who had attended other schools. This category, in effect, shows the number of children in each of the sampled schools at time of sixth grade completion.

Category B. Previous Registration - sixth grade completion school - Some children had registered more than once at the school in which they eventually completed sixth grade. Only previous registrations at the sixth grade school are counted here.

Category C. Same Target or Buffer Area Schools - Registrations at schools in the same Target or Buffer Area (North or South) in which the sixth grade completion school was located. This category was applicable only to Target students; not to Comparison students.

Category D. Target or Buffer Area Schools - Registrations of students in North or South Target, or North or South Buffer schools. This category was applicable to Target and Comparison students.

Category E. Adjacent Schools - Registrations at all Minneapolis Public Schools whose district boundaries touched the sixth grade completion school district boundary. Adjacent school districts were not necessarily in Target or Buffer Areas.

Category F. Minneapolis Public Schools outside Target and Buffer Areas - Registrations of Target or Comparison students in any Minneapolis public school other than a Target or Buffer school or a school of sixth grade completion. Could include adjacent schools.

Category G. All Other Registrations - Registrations at Metropolitan area private and parochial schools; Metropolitan public schools other than Minneapolis; schools outside the Metropolitan Area. Includes registrations in outstate Minnesota, and in other states. No students had recorded registrations outside the United States.

V. RESULTS

Patterns of Movement - Target and Comparison Samples

Almost seven out of eight recorded registrations - for Target and Comparison children - were made in Minneapolis schools (87%). Actually the true proportion of registrations involving Minneapolis schools was somewhat less due to lack of knowledge about moves prior to coming to Minneapolis.

Seven percent of all registrations were made outside the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area; four percent were made at other public schools within the Metropolitan Area, and two percent were made at private and parochial schools within the Metropolitan Area.

Sixty-three percent of all registrations were made by Target School students. The fact that Target students constituted only 47% of the total student sample illustrates the wide difference in mobility between Target and Comparison children.

Almost two out of three registrations made by Comparison children were final registrations at the school where they completed sixth grade. Only one-third of all registrations made by Target children were final registrations of this type.

When the number of final registrations at the sixth grade completion school was removed from consideration, and only schools attended previously were considered, the Target and Comparison registrations differed greatly. Among Target children, 81% of registrations were in Minneapolis public schools compared

to 65% of Comparison registrations. More Comparison registrations were in non-public schools or were outside the city.

Five percent of the registrations made by Target children were "repeat" registrations, i.e. more than one registration at the school in which they completed sixth grade. Less than two percent of the Comparison registrations were repeats.

Almost two out of three registrations made by Target children were in Target or Buffer schools (63.6%). More than half of these registrations were made in their sixth grade school either as a final registration (33.2%) or as a repeat registration (5.1%). By contrast, only one registration in 45 (2.2%) made by Comparison students was made in a Target or Buffer school.

Approximately two out of three registrations of Comparison students were made in their sixth grade schools - nearly all of these being final registrations. Only eight of the 1,125 registrations made by Target children (.7%) were made in Comparison schools although registrations may have been made in middle income schools not included in the Comparison sample. (This possibility is discussed later.)

Tables 1 and 2 show details. Table 1 includes all registrations while Table 2 shows the distribution of registrations with the sixth grade final registrations excluded.

Moves to Adjacent Schools

One measure of the distance of moves is the number of registrations made at schools whose district boundaries have boundaries in common with the sixth grade school. Previous, but not final, registrations at the sixth grade school were added to registrations at adjacent schools to get a measure of distance of movement. Table 3 shows clearly that Target children tended to move to nearby schools to a much greater degree than did Comparison children. More than one-fourth (26%) of all Target registrations were previous registrations made in the sixth grade school or in schools with boundaries adjacent

to the sixth grade school. This was true for only 7.6% of the Comparison registrations.

However, Comparison children - as a group - were more likely to remain in the same "neighborhood" since a very large percentage of them (61%) attended only one school throughout their elementary school careers. Only 30% of Target children attended the same school from kindergarten through sixth grade. Thus, almost half (46%) of all registrations of Comparison children were in their sixth grade school or an adjacent school while slightly more than one-third (35%) of Target childrens' registrations were in their sixth grade school or schools bordering on it. Target children stayed in the same general area of the community in spite of the fact that they changed schools often. Comparison children stayed in the same neighborhood by virtue of the fact that they stayed in the same school. When they moved they tended to move greater distances.

Table 1

School Registrations of 373 Target and 425 Comparison Students for Kindergarten through Sixth Grade

Registrations at:	Registrations of Target children		Registrations of Comparison children		All registrations	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sixth Grade Completion School - Final	373	33.2%	425	63.2%	798	44.4%
Sixth Grade Completion School - Previous	57	5.1%	11	1.6%	68	3.8%
Target & Buffer Schools (Excluding 6th Grade Completion School)	285	25.3%	15	2.2%	300	16.7%
Mpls. Schools outside Target & Buffer Area (Excluding 6th Grade Completion School)	269	23.9%	135	20.1%	404	22.5%
Sub-total, Registrations at Mpls. Public Schools	984	87.5%	586	87.1%	1570	87.4%
Twin Cities Metropolitan Area Private & Parochial Schools	23	2.0%	11	1.6%	34	1.9%
Twin Cities Metropolitan Public Schools other than Mpls.	40	3.6%	36	5.4%	76	4.2%
Schools outside the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area	78	6.9%	39	5.8%	117	6.5%
Sub-total, Registrations at Schools other than Mpls. Public Schools	141	12.5%	86	12.8%	227	12.6%
Total School Registrations	1125	100.0%	672	100.0%	1797*	100.0%

*Report No. 1 (Faunce, Bevis & Murton, 1965, p. 44) shows 1829 registrations. Thirty-two registrations, unidentified as to location, have been excluded from the present analysis.

Table 2

Elementary School Registrations of 373 Target and 425 Comparison Students Excluding Final Registrations at School of Sixth Grade Completion (K - 6)

Registrations at:	Registrations of Target children		Registrations of Comparison children		All registrations	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sixth Grade Completion School - Previous	57	7.6%	11	4.5%	68	6.8%
Target & Buffer Schools (Excluding 6th Grade Completion School)	285	37.9%	15	6.1%	300	30.0%
Mpls. Schools outside Target & Buffer Area (Excluding 6th Grade Completion School)	269	35.8%	135	54.7%	404	40.4%
Sub-total, Registrations at Mpls. Public Schools	611	81.3%	161	65.2%	772	77.2%
Twin Cities Metropolitan Area Private & Parochial Schools	23	3.1%	11	4.5%	34	3.4%
Twin Cities Metropolitan Public Schools other than Mpls.	40	5.3%	36	14.6%	76	7.6%
Schools outside the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area	78	10.4%	39	15.8%	117	11.7%
Sub-total, Registrations at Schools other than Mpls. Public Schools	141	18.8%	86	34.9%	227	22.7%
Total School Registrations (other than Final Registrations at 6th Grade Completion School)	752	100.1%	247	100.1%	999	99.9%

Table 3

Registrations of 373 Target and 425 Comparison Children at Schools Adjacent to the School of Sixth Grade Completion(K - 6 Grade)

Registrations at:	Registrations of Target children		Registrations of Comparison children		All registrations	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Adjacent Schools	235	20.9%	40	6.0%	275	15.3%
Sixth Grade Completion School - Previous	57	5.1%	11	1.6%	68	3.8%
Sixth Grade School - Only	99	8.8%	260	38.7%	359	20.0%
Sub-total	391	34.8%	311	46.3%	702	39.1%
All other Registrations	734	65.2%	361	53.7%	1095	60.9%
Total Registrations	1125	100.0%	672	100.0%	1797	100.0%

Patterns of Movement - North and South Target Samples

It was hypothesized that much of the movement of Target Area children would be between Target Areas. That is, North Target children would tend to move to South Target schools (or to other North Target schools) and South Target children would tend to move to North Target schools (or to other South Target schools). This hypothesis was based on the observation that both Target Areas were located in low income sections of the city and that the cost of living, all things equal, would be approximately the same in each Target Area.

This hypothesis was not supported. Table 4 shows clearly that children completing sixth grade in one Target Area made very few registrations at schools located in the other Target Area. Less than 5% of the registrations indicated movement from one Target Area to the other Target (or Buffer) Area.

Only 6% of all registrations made by North Target children were made in South Target or Buffer schools. Less than 3% of the registrations made by South Target children were made in North Target or Buffer schools.*

The relatively small amount of "cross-town" movement held true for larger geographic units. Fully 84% of all registrations made in Minneapolis by children completing sixth grade in South Target schools was made in South Minneapolis. (See Table 5 and Map B). Approximately 7% of their registrations were in East Minneapolis and about 9% in North Minneapolis. These registrations exclude final registrations.

North Target Area youth made 59% of their Minneapolis registrations in North Minneapolis, 34% in South Minneapolis, and 6% in East Minneapolis. (See Map C).

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*One of the North Target schools was of recent construction. All children who completed sixth grade there had previously attended school elsewhere. This factor tended to inflate the percentage of children with "registrations at Target and Buffer schools excluding the sixth grade completion school," since most of the pupils were transferred from nearby schools. It also tended to decrease the percentage of "previous registrations at sixth grade completion school."

Although these geographic divisions were somewhat arbitrary and the three units were very unequal in size (22% of the city's elementary schools were located in North Minneapolis, 20% in East Minneapolis and 58% in South Minneapolis) it seemed fair to conclude that there was a strong tendency for children in this sample to move within a community rather than across the city. Furthermore, North Target children were more likely to move to South Minneapolis than South Target children were to move to North Minneapolis. Only 19 registrations of 217 made by South Target youth were made in North Minneapolis whereas 133 of 394 registrations made by North Target youth were made in South Minneapolis. Movement into East Minneapolis by North and South Target youth appeared disproportionately low.

Table 4

School Registrations of North Target (N=200) and South Target (N=173) Children for K - 6 Grade

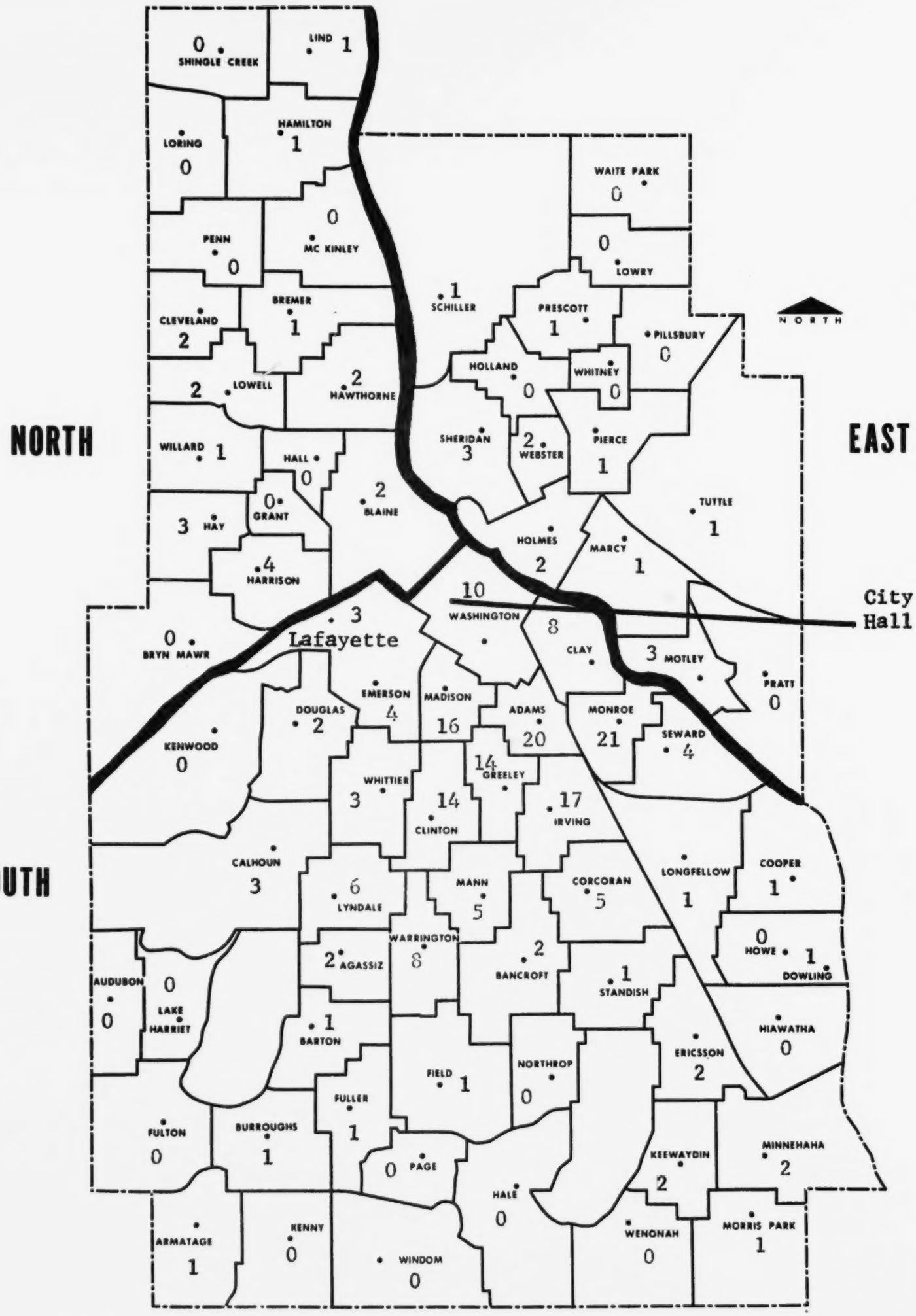
Registrations at:	Registrations of North Target children		Registrations of South Target children		Registrations of North and South Target children	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Sixth Grade Completion School - Final	200	29.4%	173	38.9%	373	33.2%
Sixth Grade Completion School - Previous	43	6.3%	14	3.1%	57	5.1%
Own Target and Buffer Area Schools (Excluding 6th Grade Completion School)	158	23.2%	75	16.9%	233	20.7%
Other Target and Buffer Area Schools	41	6.0%	11	2.5%	52	4.6%
Minneapolis Public Schools Outside Target and Buffer Areas	152	22.3%	117	26.3%	269	23.9%
Sub-total, Registrations at Mpls. Public Schools	594	87.2%	390	87.7%	984	87.5%
Sub-total, Registrations at Schools other than Mpls. Public Schools	86	12.7%	55	12.4%	141	12.5%
Total - All Registrations	680	99.9%	445	100.1%	1125	100.0%

Table 5

School Registrations of North Target (N=200) and South Target (N=173) Children in Various Areas of the City of Minneapolis Excluding Registrations at School of Sixth Grade Completion (K - 6 Grades)

Registrations Made in:	Registrations of North Target children		Registrations of South Target children		Registrations of North and South Target children	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
North Minneapolis	233	59.1%	19	8.8%	252	41.2%
South Minneapolis	133	33.8%	183	84.3%	316	51.7%
East Minneapolis	23	5.8%	15	6.9%	38	6.2%
Unidentified Areas of Minneapolis	5	1.3%	0	0.0%	5	.8%
Total	394	100.0%	217	100.0%	611	99.9%

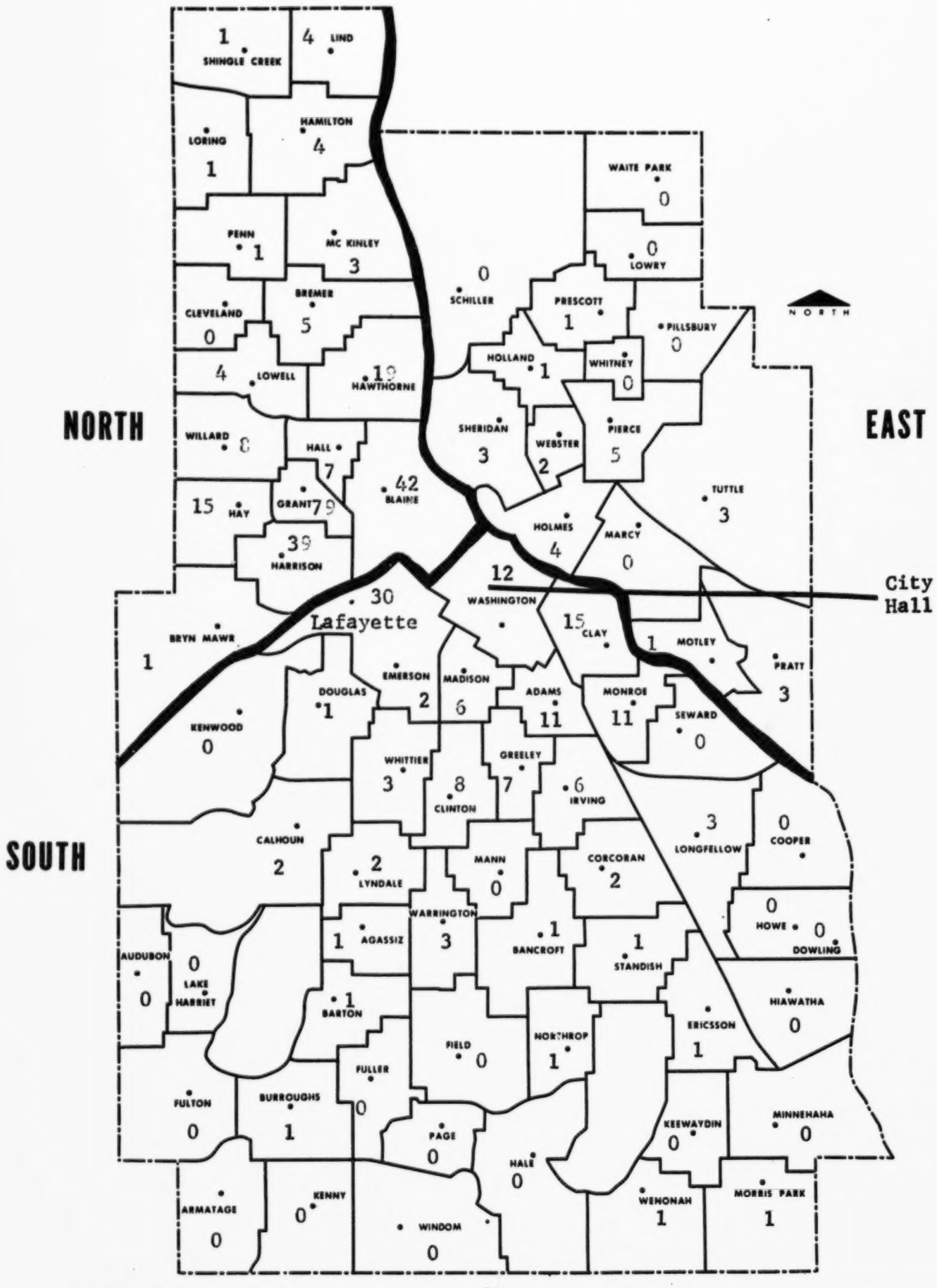
Map B



NUMBER OF SCHOOL REGISTRATIONS OF SOUTH TARGET AREA CHILDREN

(excluding 173 final registrations at the sixth grade completion school)

Map C



NUMBER OF SCHOOL REGISTRATIONS OF NORTH TARGET AREA CHILDREN

(excluding 200 final registrations at the sixth grade completion school)

Patterns of Movement - Individual Target Schools

Movement patterns for individual Target schools were quite similar to the overall pattern for the Total Target schools. Patterns which differentiated Target and Comparison schools - more repeat registrations at the sixth grade completion school, more registrations at adjacent schools, fewer children staying in just one elementary school - were reflected by individual schools. See Tables 6 and 7.

The percentage of registrations made at schools adjacent to the final school attended was greater for each of the Target schools, i.e. the highest percentage of adjacent registrations made in Comparison schools (School W with 9.3% of all registrations) was lower than the lowest percentage of adjacent registrations made in Target schools (School D with 14.0% of all registrations). Percentage of adjacent registrations ranged from 4.6% to 9.3% for Comparison schools and 14.0% to 29.7% for Target schools.

A similar phenomenon was observed for previous registrations made at the final school, although there was some overlap. Only two of the five Comparison schools had more than one repeat registration. All of the Target schools had more than one repeat registration and in Target school A over 10% of all registrations were repeats. This is tantamount to saying that every tenth child entering School A had previously attended that school. (This is not precisely true, since the measuring unit was registrations and not children. The non-independence of registrations made it impossible to tell how many children were involved).

The instability of attendance at Target schools compared with Comparison schools is shown by the percentage of registrations which were "only" registrations at the school where the children completed sixth grade, i.e. they started in the school in kindergarten and attended no other school until they completed sixth grade. In Target schools "only" registrations ranged from 0% to 17% of all registrations. None of the Comparison schools had less than 31% of all registrations which were only registrations. The range was 31% to 46%.

Analysis of school registrations for individual Target and Comparison schools shows that large differences in registration or mobility patterns between Target and Comparison children were not the effects of just one or two large schools. Rather, these differences reflected a general phenomenon which appeared to operate in each and every school in the sample.

Maps D and E give a visual picture of the registration patterns for Target Area schools. Map E shows the three South Target schools and Map D shows North Target schools. Comparison schools are not shown since the majority of registrations were in the sixth grade school and other registrations showed no meaningful patterns.

Lines connect the sixth grade completion school with all other schools in which three or more registrations were made by children completing the illustrated sixth grade school. (The thicker the line the more registrations there were.) This procedure helps to clarify the pattern of registrations by ignoring rare or "occasional" registrations made at schools outside the usual pattern. Numbers indicate the number of registrations made in each school district. Previous (but not final) registrations made at the sixth grade school are indicated in the margin.

Patterns were influenced by the size of school. Harrison School, for example, had twice as many children as some of the other schools. Its pattern of registrations is therefore more widespread. At the same time, in spite of size differentials, the patterns are basically similar for all Target schools. Most registrations were made in nearby schools. Rarely were registrations made in outlying schools in wealthier neighborhoods.

The maps show the number of registrations but not the sequence in which these registrations were made. The maps should be interpreted thus: Of all registrations made by children completing sixth grade at Grant School in June 1962, 19 registrations were made at Blaine School; 15 registrations were made at Harrison School, and so on. This does not mean that all children moved directly to Grant School from the school previously attended. One, or several, intermediary moves could have been made.

Table 6

School Registrations of 200 North Target and 173 South Target School Children Showing Number of Registrations Involving Sixth Grade Completion or Adjacent Schools and Excluding Final Registrations When They Were "Only" Registrations at the Sixth Grade Completion School - by School

Registrations at:	North Target Area schools								South Target Area schools								Total-North plus south	
	A		B		C		Total		D		E		F		Total			
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adjacent Schools	44	20.5	43	29.7	66	20.6	153	22.5	22	14.0	26	19.7	34	21.8	82	18.4	235	20.9
Sixth Grade Completion School - Previous	23	10.7	2	1.3	18	5.6	43	6.3	6	3.8	3	2.3	5	3.2	14	3.1	57	5.1
Sixth Grade Completion School - Only	13	6.0	0	0.0	* 19	5.9	32	4.7	27	17.2	14	10.6	26	16.7	67	15.1	99	8.8
Sub-total	80	37.2	45	31.0	103	32.2	228	33.5	55	35.0	43	32.6	65	41.7	163	36.6	391	34.8
All Other Registrations	135	62.8	100	69.0	217	67.8	452	66.5	102	65.0	89	67.4	91	58.3	282	63.4	734	65.2
Total Registrations	215	100.0	145	100.0	320	100.0	680	100.0	157	100.0	132	100.0	156	100.0	445	100.0	1125	100.0

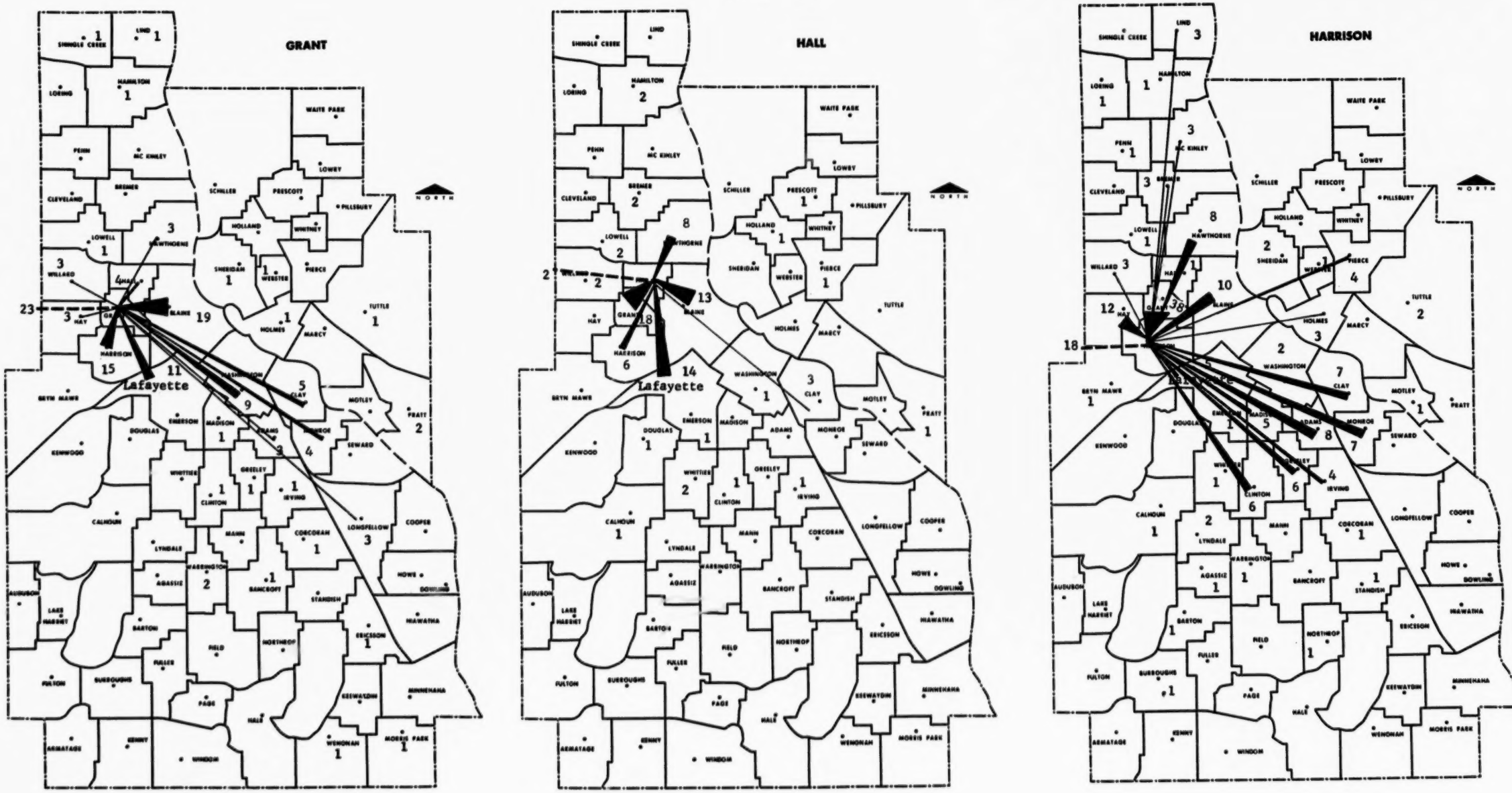
*School built in 1960.

Table 7

School Registrations of 425 Comparison School Children Showing Number of Registrations Involving Sixth Grade Completion or Adjacent Schools and Excluding Final Registrations Except When They Were "Only" Registrations at the Sixth Grade Completion School - by School

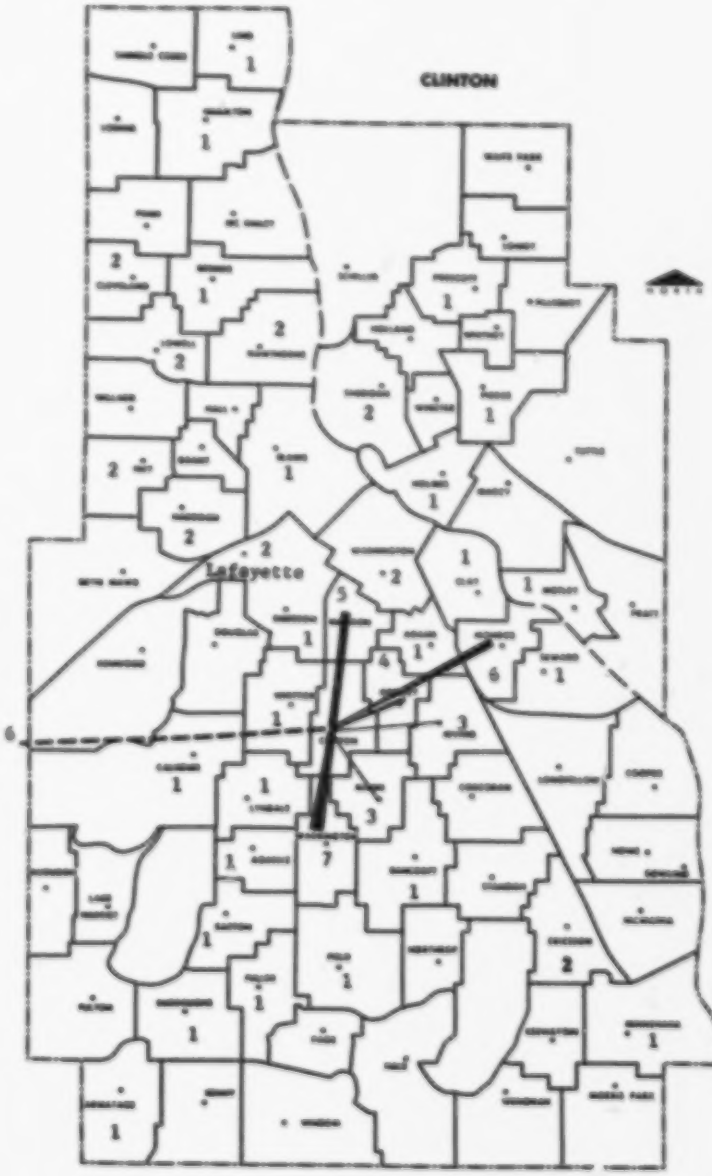
Registrations at:	Comparison schools											
	V		W		X		Y		Z		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adjacent Schools	5	4.6	13	9.3	7	5.9	6	4.8	9	5.0	40	6.0
Sixth Grade Completion School - Previous	0	0.0	1	.7	5	4.2	1	.8	4	2.2	11	1.6
Sixth Grade Completion School - Only	38	35.2	64	45.7	48	40.3	39	30.9	71	39.7	260	38.7
Sub-total	43	39.8	78	55.7	60	50.4	46	36.5	84	46.9	311	46.3
All Other Registrations	65	60.2	62	44.3	59	49.6	80	63.5	95	53.1	361	53.7
Total Registrations	108	100.0	140	100.0	119	100.0	126	100.0	179	100.0	672	100.0

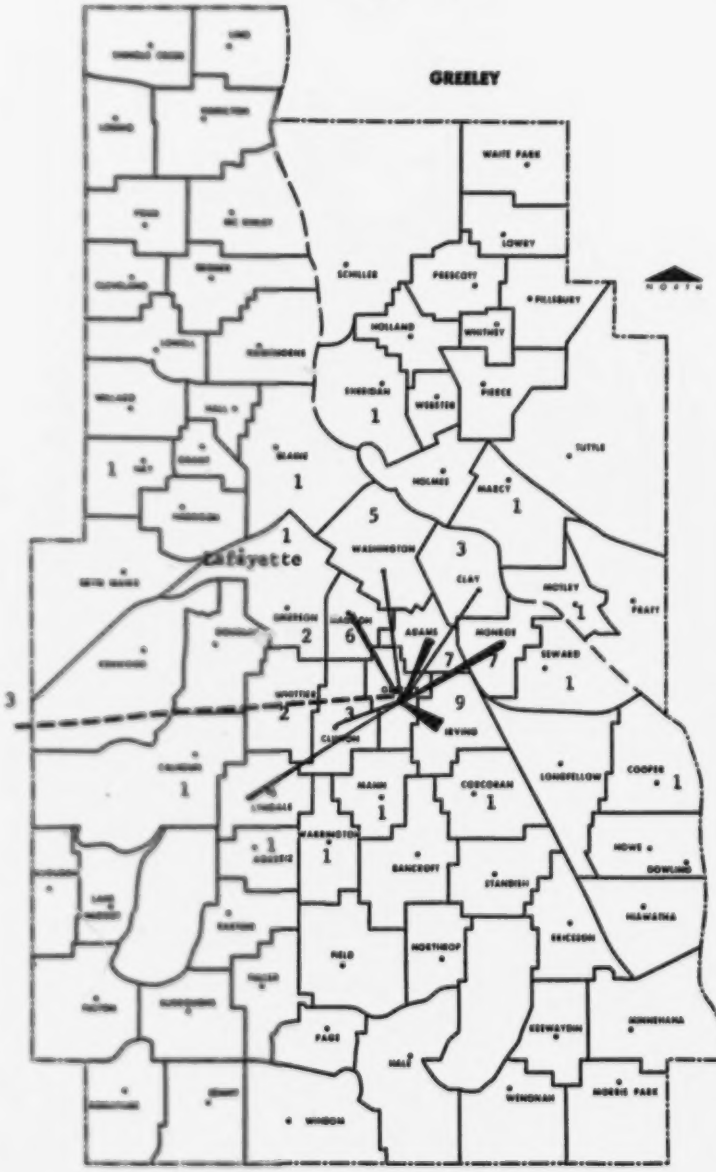
Map D

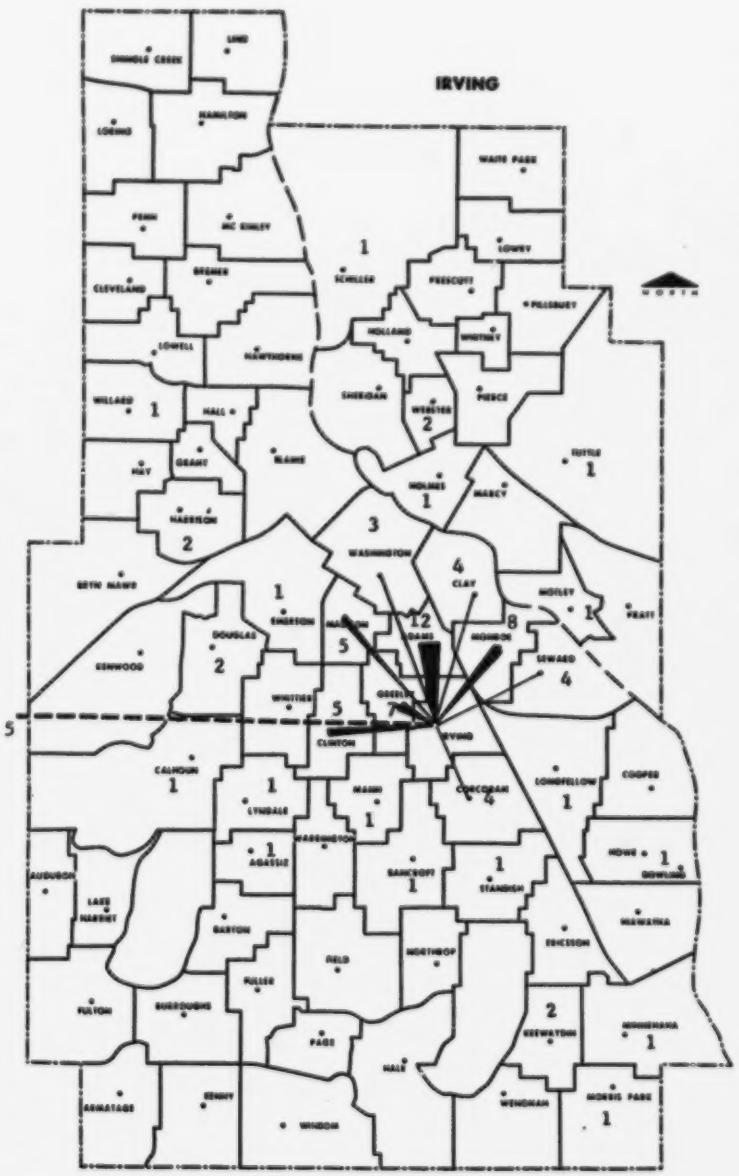


REGISTRATIONS MADE BY CHILDREN COMPLETING SIXTH GRADE IN THREE NORTH TARGET AREA SCHOOLS

Map E







REGISTRATIONS MADE BY CHILDREN COMPLETING SIXTH GRADE IN THREE SOUTH TARGET AREA SCHOOLS

PREVIOUS REGISTRATIONS AT SIXTH GRADE SCHOOL

Patterns of Movement and Family Income

In 1960 the median family income in Minneapolis was $6,401. (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1960). Family income, by census tract, ranged from $3,432 to $10,379. The average family in the wealthiest tract had an income three times larger than the average family living in the poorest tract.

In order to relate family income to student movement patterns census tracts were "matched" with school districts. The amount of error introduced by this procedure is estimated to be very low. Most matches appeared quite good and adjacent tracts generally had similar family incomes.

Median family income in all Target schools was $5,037. Comparison school families averaged an additional $2,502, or $7,539. Incomes of Comparison families were 18% greater than the average income in the city. Incomes of Target families were 21% less than the city average.

Average family income for children in their final school was compared with the average family income in the school district they had attended just prior to moving to their sixth grade completion school. The median family income for the previous school district was assigned to each child and a median was derived for the total sample. Individual family incomes were not available. This procedure introduced an unknown amount of error into the analysis. Only those children who had moved at least once within Minneapolis were included in the analysis of income and movement. However, sample sizes remained fairly substantial (227 for Target schools and 102 for Comparison).

Table 8 shows median family incomes for each of the sixth grade completion schools and median family income for those school districts from which children had moved into the sixth grade school. As a group, Target families showed no evidence of economic change. Median family income for families in sixth grade completion school districts was only three dollars greater than the average income in the school district from which they had just moved. By contrast, Comparison families showed substantial gains. Median income was up over $1,000; a sixteen percent increase in income over the previously attended school district.

Table 8

Median Family Incomes in Sixth Grade School Districts and in School Districts Attended Immediately Prior to Moving to the Sixth Grade School District

School Districts	Median family income in elem. sch. districts in which child. completed 6th grade	Median family income in elem. sch. districts from which child. moved to their 6th gr. compl. sch.	Difference in income: 6th gr. median minus previous sch.district median	No. of child. moving to 6th gr. completion sch.
North Target				
A	$3432	$5040	- $1608	44
B	5063	4907	+ $156	32
C	4975	4734	+ $241	69
Total - North Target	4533	4865	- $332	145
South Target				
D	$5302	$5572	- $270	24
E	5455	5186	+ $269	26
F	5460	5271	+ $189	32
Total - South Target	5371	5332	+ $39	82
Both Targets	$5037	$5034	+ $3	227
Comparison				
V	$8264	$6894	+ $1370	24
W	8268	6917	+ $1351	15
X	6581	6379	+ $202	20
Y	6007	6243	- $236	17
Z	7549	6260	+ $1289	26
Total - Comparison	$7539	$6526	+ $1013	102

As a group, Target families appeared to show lateral economic mobility while Comparison families gave evidence of upward economic mobility. This finding is supportive of the frequently stated viewpoint that the poor have not shared in the economic growth of the United States. Results of the individual schools give added support to this view.

Although four of the six Target schools showed gains, none of the gains were substantial. The maximum increase in family income was only $269. Families whose children attended sixth grade School A exhibited a substantial loss in income amounting to almost one-third of the income in the previous school district (see Table 8). Report No. 1 showed that School A also had the highest proportion of broken homes. Possibly the large decrease in family income was due to family disintegration and subsequent movement into low cost housing in the School A district.

North Target families, which as a group had lower incomes than South Target families in the previously attended school district, showed a loss of $332. South Target families which were somewhat higher to begin with showed a slight gain and Comparison families which were the wealthiest at the start showed the highest gain.

Three of the five Comparison schools showed substantial gains of $1289, $1350, and $1370. Families in the two wealthiest schools appeared to have made the largest gains in income. In sum, across all eleven schools there was a strong trend for families moving from the poorest school districts to show little economic improvement, and even economic loss, while families which lived in fairly well-to-do school districts to begin with showed the most economic gain when they moved.

Patterns of Movement Related to Poverty Areas of Minneapolis

The Community Action Agency for the war against poverty in Minneapolis designated a specific poverty area within the city for the purpose of planning anti-poverty programs (Community Health and Welfare Council, 1965). This area was chosen because of the high concentration of low income families, low educational

levels, and high incidence of substandard housing units. All of the Target schools, but none of the Comparison schools, were located in the officially designated poverty area. (Target School C was not originally in the poverty area, but was added at a later date).

Map F shows the location of school districts in which Target children rarely registered. School districts in which only one or two registrations were made are also included in order to counteract the effects of rare or "chance" registrations. Clearly, children who lived in the poverty area tended to stay in the poverty area or areas adjacent to it. Rarely, if at all, did Target Area children attend schools in the wealthier residential areas of South Minneapolis.

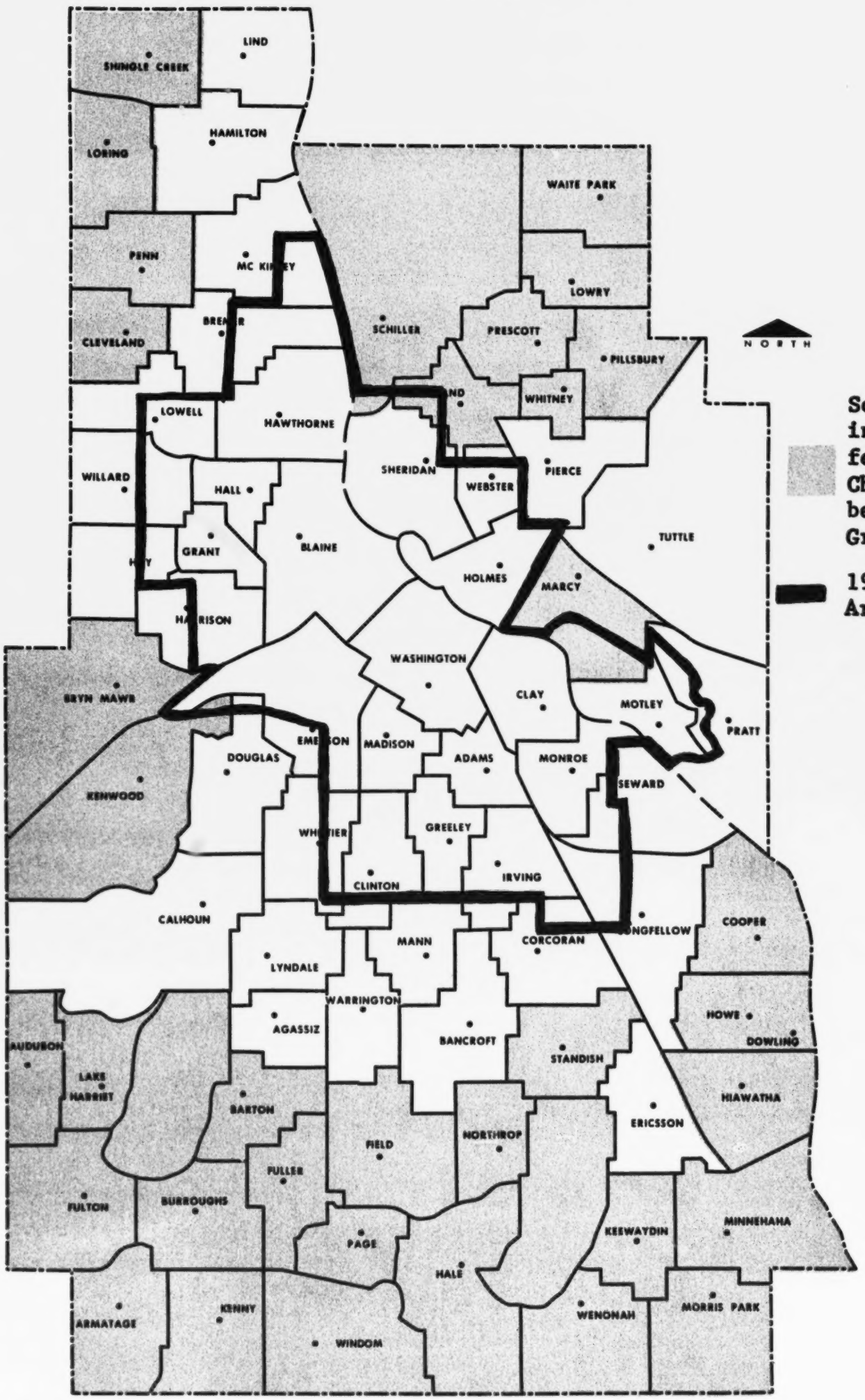
Ninety-five percent of all Minneapolis Public School registrations made by Comparison children were made <u>outside</u> the Poverty Areas. Eighty-seven percent of all Minneapolis Public School registrations made by Target children were made <u>inside</u> Poverty boundaries.

Summary

A maximum of seven out of eight school registrations made by Target and Comparison children for the period K - 6 were made in Minneapolis Public Schools. Two-thirds of all registrations made by Comparison youth were made in the school where they completed sixth grade. Slightly more than one-third of the registrations made by Target youth were made in the sixth grade completion school.

Repeat registrations accounted for less than four percent of all registrations; five percent of all Target registrations and less than two percent of all Comparison registrations. Although repeated entries into the same school did not appear to be an extensive problem for this particular sample of one grade it was observed that in one Target school one out of ten registrations was a "repeat."

Map F



School Districts in which 2 or fewer Target Area Children Registered between K and 6 Grade

1965 Poverty Area Boundary

SCHOOL REGISTRATIONS OF TARGET AREA YOUTH RELATED TO POVERTY AREAS OF MINNEAPOLIS

Few children who lived in the Target Areas ever attended school in the wealthier areas of the city. Conversely, children from Comparison schools rarely registered in the economically poorer Target or Buffer schools. Only five percent of all Minneapolis registrations made by Comparison children were made in schools located within the boundaries of the city's officially designated poverty areas. Eighty-seven percent of Minneapolis registrations made by Target youth were inside the poverty boundaries.

Relatively little inter-Target Area movement was observed. Children who lived in North Minneapolis tended to stay there; children who lived South stayed South. More than one-fourth of all Target registrations were made at schools adjacent to the school at which the children completed sixth grade, or were repeat registrations. Less than eight percent of Comparison registrations were in adjacent schools and repeat registrations.

There appeared to be a tendency for more movement from the North Target to the South rather than the other way around. This observation is somewhat clouded by the unequal sizes of the two Target Areas. Very little movement into East Minneapolis was observed for either Target sample.

Patterns for individual schools were quite similar to those for the total samples. Results did not appear to be influenced by one or two schools but seemed to reflect rather general phenomena.

Finally, evidence relating income to mobility supported the notion that the poor have not shared in the economic gains of our nation. Target families moved into school districts which had the same income level as their previous school districts. Comparison families showed a 16% gain in income amounting to over $1,000. Those families which originally had the highest incomes appeared to gain the most. Families which originally had the lowest incomes either gained the least or showed a loss in income.

VI. RECAPITULATION

These studies of geographic mobility of elementary school pupils in a sample of

Minneapolis Public Schools are ending at a point which should really be the beginning. Large differences have been observed between a sample of inner city, low income children and a sample of children selected from low delinquency areas of the city. Differences in the following factors were substantial:

- Intelligence test scores
- Reading test scores
- Absenteeism
- Teachers' ratings
- Continuous attendance at the same school
- Family size
- Race
- Families with both parents
- Family income
- Juvenile delinquency
- Birthplace
- Number of schools attended
- Number of <u>different</u> schools attended
- Number of address changes

When high and low mobility students were compared <u>within</u> each sample (i.e. high and low income) the differences noted above remained for the low income groups but were generally not apparent in the high income groups. Students living in poor sections of Minneapolis,who did not move frequently,were typically "superior" to the highly mobile students in the poor sections of Minneapolis. In the wealthier sections of the city most differences between high and low mobility students were negligible although they tended to favor the low mobility students. It appears that a favorable level of family income, <u>or factors associated with attaining such an income</u>, can do much to mitigate detrimental effects that might be caused by frequent moves.

In spite of much movement by poor children it was of a limited nature. The general pattern was to move short distances within the same general community. There was little cross-town movement and movement "across the tracks" was virtually non-existent. Some of the rigidity of the movement patterns might have

been due to factors related to race. However, since 75% of the children in the Target sample were white it seems more likely that movement patterns were predominately related to income and low income housing. In short, Target children lived and moved within ghettoes of poverty whether they were white or black.

The upward social mobility revealed in this study occured among families which were already above average income. Well-to-do or middle class families gained in income; poor families stayed poor or got poorer.

A comparison of the YDP studies of mobility, which were conducted primarily for "local" planning purposes, with studies by other investigators reveals much substantiation or replication of previous efforts - but little that is new.

. Higher mobility among lower income groups appears to be the rule (Residential change and school adjustment, 1966; Aronoff, Raymond & Warmoth, 1965; U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1965; Levine, Wesolowski & Corbett, 1964; Bollenbacher, 1962; Sexton, 1959).

. Generally Negroes move more frequently than whites (Residential change and school adjustment, 1966; Recent data on Negro and white population in the United States, 1965) although individual cities may show some variation from this national pattern (Sullenger, 1950).

. Frequent changes of address and school are associated with many problems but there is little evidence that these changes cause the problems.

Some problems associated with high mobility were poor grades and teachers' ratings (Levine et al., 1964), and intelligence test, reading and arithmetic test scores (Aronoff et al., 1965; Bollenbacher, 1962).

The basic question of the effects of mobility has received little scientific attention. Bollenbacher (1962) controlled mental ability (Lorge-Thorndike) by covariance and concluded that reading and arithmetic were not affected by school mobility. In another study, children

of military personnel did not seem to suffer ill effects from frequent moves (Pederson & Sullivan, 1964). And in still another study positive effects were inferred rather than negative (Greene & Daughtry, 1961-62). These authors also pointed out the importance of recency and distance of mobility.

The YDP studies while not approaching the cause and effect problem do give some support to the findings of Pederson and Sullivan,and Greene and Daughtry. Our findings suggest that future investigations should focus on sub-groupings of the samples to a much greater extent. Greene and Daughtry felt that the focus should be on the distance and recency of movement. Our data suggest that since distance of movement is related to family income - and in effect "caused" by family income - greater emphasis should be placed on the income variable. The relatively low relationship between mobility and the many variables studied in the high income Comparison sample and the strong relationships between mobility and these variables in the low income Target sample suggest that income, or factors related to income, play a much more important part in producing effects - one of which we believe to be distance of movement. In the Pederson and Sullivan study where, presumably, family income was adequate unfavorable results did not occur.

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Youth Employment Survey - Census Tract 34 (A Research Report)	October 1963
A Proposal for a Youth Development Demonstration Project	April 1964
An Analysis of Target Area Populations by Age and Sex	April 1964
A Neighborhood Survey - Census Tract 42 - Minneapolis, Minnesota (A Research Report)	May 1965
Initial Reactions of Minneapolis Police Officers to the Presentation of a New Casework Service (An Evaluation Report)	August 1965
Juvenile Delinquency of Minneapolis Youth - 1964 (A Research Report)	October 1965
Student Mobility in Selected Minneapolis Public Schools Report No. 1 (A Research Report)	October 1965
Home Management Aides (An Evaluation Report)	February 1966
Neighborhood Development (An Evaluation Report)	February 1966
Summer Reading Camps (An Evaluation Report)	March 1966
Project Motivation 1964-1965 (An Evaluation Report)	March 1966
Junior High Orientation Camp (An Evaluation Report)	April 1966
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